

Appendix

Communist Cold War Strategy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 11, 1961

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, last December I had the privilege of participating in the International Conference on Soviet Cold War Strategy at Paris.

There were some 450 or 500 delegates—almost 3 times as many as the sponsors had expected. Most of the delegates came from Europe, but the Conference also included a Philippine member of Parliament, two Vietnamese, two representatives of President Kasavubu, a representative of Prime Minister Tshombe of Katanga, and Prieto Laurens of Mexico.

The many distinguished Europeans who actively participated and gave the Conference their blessing included Paul Henri Spaak; Paul von Zeeland; Maurice Schumann, head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber; M. Michelet, Minister of Justice; former Premier Rene Pleyen; Madame Patenotre, Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies; Emil Roche, President of the Economic Council; Arthur Conte and Maurice Faure, Members of the Chamber of Deputies and former Cabinet Ministers; Salvador de Madariaga; Richard Jaeger; Anthony Kershaw, M.P.; Lord Birdwood; also former Italian Cabinet Ministers, Randolfo Pacciardi, and Matteo Lombardo, President of the Italian Association of NATO.

There were approximately 12 British delegates, fairly tightly organized, and acting under the formal leadership of Lord Birdwood.

The American delegation showed a good deal of esprit de corps, although it had no formal organization. It included Senator Keating and myself; Eugene Lyons; Chris Emmet; Forrest Davis; David Martin; Ben Mandel; Mr. William Rusher, of National Review; Col. Ewell, of the Strauss-Huge group, and a few others.

I was asked to address the Conference on the question of Communist infiltration into free world governments and Communist manipulation of free world public opinion through propaganda.

I ask unanimous consent to have that address printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD, OF CONNECTICUT, AT THE CONFERENCE ON SOVIET COLD WAR STRATEGY, PARIS, FRANCE, DECEMBER 1, 1960

I am honored to participate in this first international conference on Communist cold war strategy.

It is high time that the free world embarked on a systematic and continuing study of Communist cold war strategy. Over the past 15 years, the whole of Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba have been lost to the Communists. On top of the sweeping victories it has scored in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, world communism is today bidding boldly and at an accelerated tempo for new areas of control. Everywhere the free world is on the defensive.

This record of failure and disaster is too persistent to have been the product of the laws of chance. We have lost and lost and lost because we have persistently failed to understand. I would go further and say that we have lost because we have refused to face up to the facts—and facts are the beginning of all understanding.

But we must understand, because time is running out for the free world. Another 15 years like the past 15 years and there may be no more free world to defend.

We have been losing the cold war partly because we have failed to understand its total character, partly because we have been amateurs fighting against professionals. The Soviets have been winning the cold war, first, because they have, from the beginning, accepted it as a total war, to be waged with all their resources and on every plane, and second, because they have, through their specialized training institutions, developed scores of thousands of practitioners in the art of total political warfare.

There is nothing in our previous history and nothing in our experience as free men which might have prepared us to contend with the phenomenon of total war—a war waged by a thousand different means, a war in which the enemy conducts an integrated offensive on every plane of human activity—the economic, the political, the diplomatic, the psychological, the social, the cultural—a war conducted by stealth and subversion and Pavlovian techniques.

With the political warfare weapon, the Communist enemy has moved over and around the military defenses of the free world to secure beachheads deep in our rear areas.

This enemy has a coordinated long-range strategy for victory, in which he uses all methods and means against us.

Never has the situation been as perilous as it is today.

The West has lost its nuclear monopoly, and its ability to deter Soviet aggression has, in consequence, been seriously impaired. The Communists have become more aggressive, more arrogant, more contemptuous than ever. The symbol of this new attitude is Prime Minister Khrushchev pounding his shoe on the table at the United Nations. And this arrogance has been accompanied by a shift in tactics which makes the Communists, in my opinion, infinitely more dangerous than they have been heretofore.

Going back to Stalin's earliest directives, the Communists have always planned their activities so that one portion of them has been above ground, another portion underground. But in recent years, the Kremlin has been placing an increasing emphasis on subterfuge and subterranean operations.

In the old days, Communist movements, while they conducted part of their operations underground, nevertheless used to identify themselves as Communist movements. The Chinese Communists never pretended that they were anything else but Communists—even though a lot of wishful thinkers in the Western World insisted that they were really agrarian reformers. Under the deposed Arbenz regime in Guatemala, and under the Castro regime in Cuba the international Communist movement succeeded in coming to power in countries that were strongly Catholic and basically anti-Communist. They did this by exploiting certain legitimate grievances and by encouraging the people to believe—yes, and encouraging the American State Department to believe—that they were not really Communists.

In the old days, the Communists would conduct most of their front operations in a manner that made them clearly discernible and identifiable. There was the League Against War and Fascism, there was the World Peace Congress, there was the Stockholm peace petition, and there were many other operations like these where Communist initiative and Communist control were apparent to all but the willfully blind. Today, instead of creating front organizations of their own, the Communists are operating increasingly through infiltration in organizations established under non-Communist auspices.

The Communists must be combated on two levels therefore: above ground and underground—but increasingly the battle has become one against their subterranean forces.

The free world has had a limited success in fighting the Communists in the open—fighting them, that is when they are clearly identified as Communists. In my own country, the Communists have been forced out of control of a number of important trade unions. In France and Italy, operating against very great odds, the anti-Communist trade union organizations have made some modest headway. But even in the open phase of the struggle, we have not really done very well.

In the United States, key unions like the Harry Bridges Longshoremen's Union, the United Electrical Workers Union, and the American Communications Union are still under Communist domination—despite all the efforts of independent trade unionists and of government.

In France and Italy, the Communist-dominated CGT and UGT still embrace by far the majority of the organized workers. Nor has any serious dent been made in these countries in the vast apparatus of Communist-dominated cultural, social, fraternal, and benefit organizations which play so important a role in the Kremlin's manipulation of Western public opinion.

In England, known Communists either control or exercise a large measure of con-